

THE ACADEMY

FEBRUARY 17, 1906

ILLUSTRATED SUPPLEMENT

FOUR CENTURIES OF ENGLISH BOOKBINDING

SINCE the exhibition of bookbindings at the Burlington Fine Arts Club fifteen years ago there has been a marked revival of interest in the study of bindings, and several finely illustrated books on the subject have appeared within the last few years. Recently a more practical interest in the subject has resulted in the valuable Report of the Committee of the Society of Arts on Leather for Bookbinding (edited for the Society of Arts and the Worshipful Company of Leather-sellers by the Right Hon. Viscount Cobham, Chairman of the Committee, and Sir Henry Truman Wood, M.A., Secretary of the Society; published for the Society of Arts by George Bell and Sons), which will be essential for every craftsman who cares about the durability of his work. Moreover, Miss Maude Nathan has just translated into English M. de Récy's book on the "Decoration of Leather," and has illustrated it with some excellent specimens of old leather-work preserved at South Kensington, and with the beautiful twelfth-century English binding on the Winchester Domesday Book. It is particularly gratifying to note this demand in England for good

materials and good models, because no other country in Europe can show a finer series of stamped bindings, the most beautiful of which belong to the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a period remarkable for the perfection of its architecture and for the renaissance of the minor

arts. Three of the chief centres of binding were at Durham, Winchester, and London. In the Chapter Library at Durham are still preserved some of the magnificently bound manuscripts which once belonged to Hugh Pudsey, the princely baron-bishop and builder of the famous Galilee chapel. On the covers of the Winchester Domesday Book the binders of Winchester have left sufficient record of their skill, and the merit of the London work may be judged from the binding on the *Petri Lombardi Sententie* reproduced in the first illustration. If in actual technical execution these bindings are not perfect, the designs are nevertheless nearly always beautiful, especially, as in the present example, where a circular form of decoration is introduced. But it is in the delicacy of the stamps themselves that the early bindings are really pre-eminent. All the

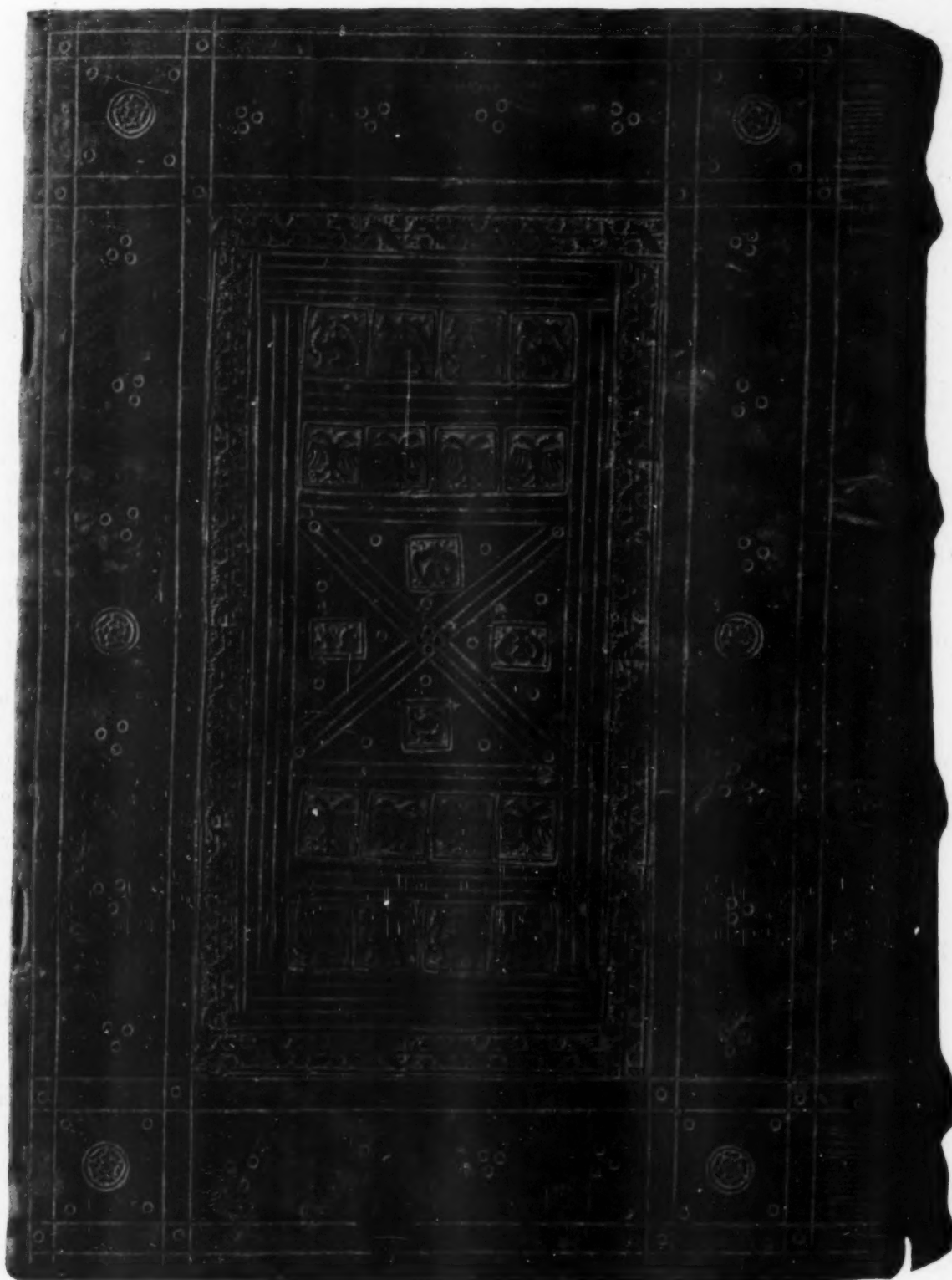


PETRI LOMBARDI SENTENTIE. A LONDON LATE TWELFTH-CENTURY BINDING

ILLUSTRATED SUPPLEMENT

stamps on the binding of the *Sententiae* will repay close study, and will not suffer even if compared with similar designs on Greek coins and gems. Some of the designs on

large cathedrals must have been well acquainted with the embroidered fabrics and precious works of art brought back from the East by the Crusaders.



AN OXFORD FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BINDING, BY THEODORIC ROOD AND THOMAS HUNT

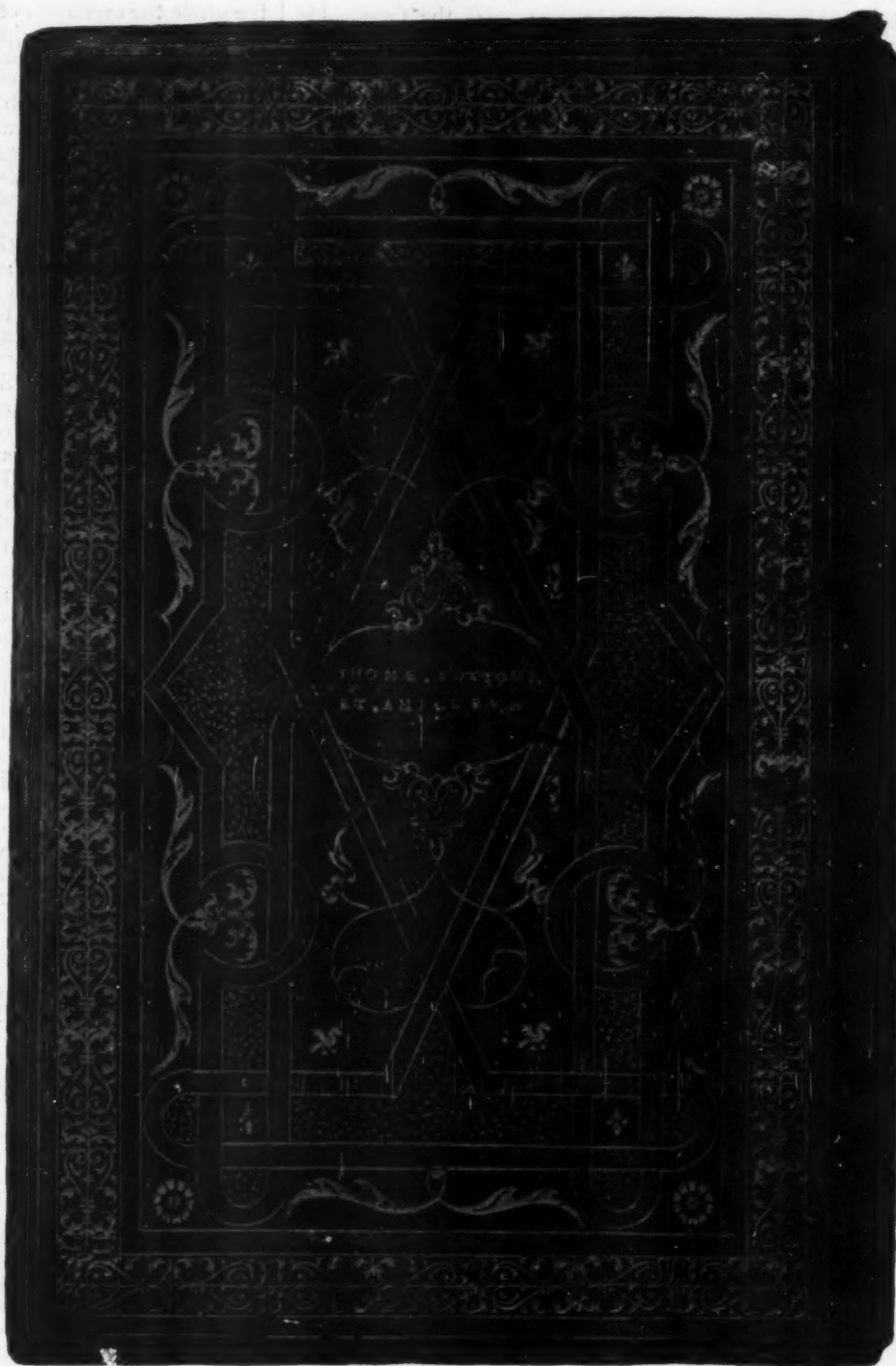
these early book-stamps are almost certainly due to foreign influence, and Mr. Weale has supposed that a few are direct imitations of Saracenic work, which is indeed not improbable when it is remembered that workmen in the

The high standard which was reached in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was not long maintained, later binders being content to use inferior copies of the beautiful dies of their predecessors. From

the middle of the thirteenth century until the fifteenth very few good stamped bindings were produced. For some reason the growth of monasticism seems, from an artistic point of view, to have been unfavourable to the craft of binding. Monastic manuscripts generally have covers of white leather without any decoration, the plainness being relieved only by an occasional headband worked in silks of various colours. It is not until the fifteenth century that any really interesting stamped bindings are again met with, and among the best may be placed those of Oxford binders. Mention of binders in Oxford deeds and charters is very frequent from about 1180, so, if mere names count for anything, the demand there for bindings must have been very considerable. No example of an Oxford binding prior to the fifteenth century has up to the present been identified, but the style of decoration on the later bindings is so like twelfth-century work that it is reasonable to assume it to be a direct survival of an older manner, and this view is strengthened by the reappearance of some of the twelfth-century stamps, not perhaps the actual stamps but fairly good copies. These Oxford bindings are more particularly interesting as there happens to be an easy method of identifying them. If a fifteenth-century binding appears to be English and has a number of little pellet-like marks tooled about the borders, especially if arranged in series of three, then it is almost certain that it was executed at Oxford. The three pellets are generally tooled on the leather, but sometimes they are found engraved on the stamps themselves, as on the binding of the Osney Cartulary preserved in the Public Record Office. These same characteristic marks also occurred on a small piece of tooled leather found in Oxford a few years ago by some workmen who were making excavations near the site of the old City Ditch. The fragment was discovered about twelve feet beneath the surface among a quantity of leather chips and tools, which had the appearance of being the rubbish-heap of a fifteenth-century worker in leather. The best known class of Oxford fifteenth-century bindings is that associated with the names of Theodoric Rood and Thomas Hunt, an example of which is given in the second illustration. The stamps on these bindings are all foreign in character, and were almost certainly introduced by Rood, who describes himself as a native of Cologne, in the colophon to Alexander de Hales's Commentary on the *De Anima*, printed at Oxford in 1481. The arrangement of the stamps, however,

in parallel rows is far more English than Continental in style.

From about the year 1500 the history of bookbinding in England is largely a story of foreign influence, Nether-



A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BINDING EXECUTED FOR THOMAS WOTTON: SHOWING THE INFLUENCE OF GROLIER

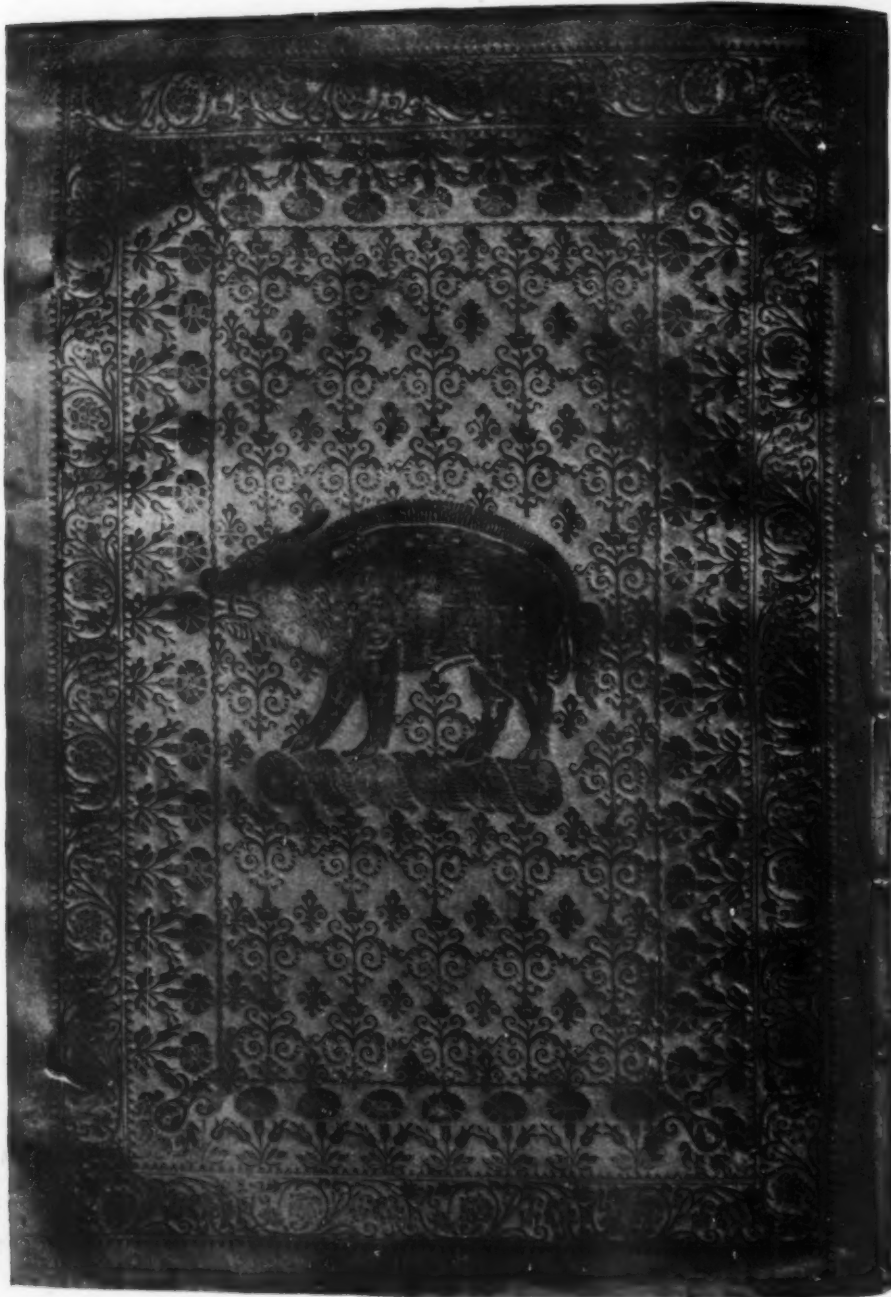
landish, Italian, and French styles succeeding each other in turn. The most important contribution of Holland to the craft of bookbinding was the panel-stamp, a large stamp generally measuring about four inches by three, which was particularly suitable for decorating the covers of smaller books. Although panel-stamps had been in use in Holland some years before 1450, they were not common in England until the beginning of the next

century. Most of those used by English binders are extremely decorative; a frequent design being some adaptation of the Royal Arms and Tudor rose, while interesting variations are found in John Reynes's ingenious panel, with all the emblems of the Passion represented; Frederick Egmont's device of the wild man, and the Cambridge

to have been introduced into England by Thomas Berthelet, who was appointed King's Printer in 1530. Most of these bindings are very Italian in character, and in one of Berthelet's accounts it is specially mentioned that certain books have been bound in the Italian and Venetian manners. On the whole the execution of the so-called "Berthelet" bindings is very unequal: doubtless many are to be attributed to his workmen, some of whom may have been Frenchmen. At this period, while English binders were merely experimenting with foreign styles, bookbinding in Italy and France was in its perfection. In France were being produced for Jean Grolier, perhaps by Italian workmen, those remarkable bindings, excellent alike in design and execution, which have made Grolier's name more famous than any other in the annals of book-collecting. Such bindings naturally found many imitators, nor have they yet ceased to be an influence (and a snare) to binders of the present day. In England the counterpart of Grolier's bindings is to be found in those executed for Thomas Wotton, the father of Sir Henry Wotton, a man well known for his modesty and hospitality, as Isaak Walton tells us. Thomas Wotton probably employed foreign workmen, who showed themselves, however, far less skilful than their French contemporaries. As a matter of fact the binding here reproduced looks much better in the illustration than in the original, owing to the unequal quality of the gilding. In one class of binding, namely the embroidered variety, England was far ahead of foreign countries. Some of the finest examples are on books presented to Queen Elizabeth, notable specimens being the copy of Bishop Parker's "De antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ" in the British Museum, and the far more beautiful Bible presented to the Queen on New Year's Day 1584, now in the Bodleian Library.

Queen Elizabeth showed a marked preference for these sumptuously embroidered book-covers. There are two or three in existence which have been thought, with some probability, to be the work of her own hands. One such binding in the Bodleian, which has long been attributed to the Queen, is of black velvet decorated with a design worked in a kind of silver cord. The last illustration carries us somewhat beyond the four centuries, but the binding is given because it shows one of the styles which finally obtained in England at the close of the sixteenth century, and also because it is one of the few known bindings which bear the crest of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. This particular volume is preserved in the Selden collection at Oxford, and was probably a gift to John Selden from Bacon himself, who, in his later and troublous years, sought the great jurist's friendship and advice.

STRICKLAND GIBSON.



A LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BINDING IN THE SELDEN COLLECTION AT OXFORD:
BEARING THE CREST OF LORD BACON

binder Speryng's panel with St. Nicholas raising to life the three pickled children.

The art of tooling in gold reached England rather late. By the end of the fifteenth century Italian binders had already attained considerable proficiency in this art, the style gradually spreading northwards through France to England. The earliest known English binding in gilt is on the copy of Whitinton's Epigrams presented by the author to Cardinal Wolsey, the decoration consisting of three large narrow panels entirely worked in gold. The art of decorating a book-cover in gold with small tools seems

to have been introduced into England by Thomas Berthelet, who was appointed King's Printer in 1530. Most of these bindings are very Italian in character, and in one of Berthelet's accounts it is specially mentioned that certain books have been bound in the Italian and Venetian manners. On the whole the execution of the so-called "Berthelet" bindings is very unequal: doubtless many are to be attributed to his workmen, some of whom may have been Frenchmen. At this period, while English binders were merely experimenting with foreign styles, bookbinding in Italy and France was in its perfection. In France were being produced for Jean Grolier, perhaps by Italian workmen, those remarkable bindings, excellent alike in design and execution, which have made Grolier's name more famous than any other in the annals of book-collecting. Such bindings naturally found many imitators, nor have they yet ceased to be an influence (and a snare) to binders of the present day. In England the counterpart of Grolier's bindings is to be found in those executed for Thomas Wotton, the father of Sir Henry Wotton, a man well known for his modesty and hospitality, as Isaak Walton tells us. Thomas Wotton probably employed foreign workmen, who showed themselves, however, far less skilful than their French contemporaries. As a matter of fact the binding here reproduced looks much better in the illustration than in the original, owing to the unequal quality of the gilding. In one class of binding, namely the embroidered variety, England was far ahead of foreign countries. Some of the finest examples are on books presented to Queen Elizabeth, notable specimens being the copy of Bishop Parker's "De antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ" in the British Museum, and the far more beautiful Bible presented to the Queen on New Year's Day 1584, now in the Bodleian Library.

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COLOPHONS

ONE among several points for which the managers of the Doves Press deserve special praise is that they have restored the use of the Colophon without (as Morris did) reducing the title-page to a mere label. Their fine Bible ("The English Bible containing the Old Testament & the New," The Doves Press, No. 1, The Terrace, Hammersmith)—one of the very finest pieces of printing ever executed—

By this combination of title-page and colophon the reader gets all the information he needs at both ends of the book, while the colophon performs its proper function of expressing the printer's pride in his work and desire to be remembered by it. How much personal feeling can be put into a colophon (and what decorative effect, we must add, may be obtained from the use of a printer's device,

**Here ben endyd the Cronycles of the Reame of Englonde with their
apperteignaunces. Enprentyd In the Duchye of Brabant in the towne
of Andewarpe In the yere of ovr lord .M.cccc.xciii. By maistr Gerard
de leew. a man of grete wyledom in all maner of künpyng: whych nowē
is come from lyfe vnto the deth/whych is grete harme for many a poure
man: On whos soule god almyghty for hys hygh grace haue mercy**

H M E A



COLOPHON TO "THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND," PRINTED BY GERARD LEEU, OF ANTWERP, 1493

bears on the front of its volumes the title-page, part of which we give below. But it also has the full colophon:

Printed by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson and Emery Walker at the Doves Press No. 1 The Terrace Hammersmith from the Text of the late Dr. Scrivener's Paragraph Bible by permission of the Syndics of the University Press Cambridge. The verse has been divided into stanzas by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson and the proofs have been read by The University Press. Compositors: J. H. Mason, J. Guttridge, C. F. Greengrass. Pressmen: H. Gage-Cole, J. Ryan, T. Waller, A. Beaumont. Finished October 19 1904. Sold at the Doves Press, and by C. J. Clay and Sons, The Cambridge University Press Warehouse, London.

which the Doves Press eschews) can be seen from the end of the last of the four books printed by Gerard Leeu of Antwerp for the English market. While it was in progress Leeu was killed in a quarrel with one of his workmen. His other men finished the book, and when the last page was reached added the Colophon with Leeu's mark to it, which we give on this page:

Here ben endyd the Cronycles of the Reame of Englonde with their apperteignaunces. Enprentyd in the Duchye of Brabant in the towne of Andewarpe in the yere of our Lord M. cccc. xciii. By Maistr

Gerard de leew, a man of grete wysedome in all maner of kunnyng: whych nowe is come from lyfe unto the deth, which is grete harme for many a poure man. On whos sowle God almyghty for hys hygh grace haue mercy. Amen.

Had such an accident happened even a hundred years later it would have left no mark on the book, save that the imprint might have run with formal correctness "Printed in the house late Gerard Leeu's" or "by the Heirs of Gerard Leeu." Had it chanced in our own day even the style of the firm would probably have remained unaltered in the single line of type, hidden away on the back of the title-page or of the last leaf, with which the modern printer, however proud of his work, has mostly to be content. In the fifteenth century, even towards the close of it, the printer was a personality, entitled by custom, and often willing, to take readers into his confidence.

The right to speak for himself in the book he had printed was derived by the fifteenth-century printer from a similar privilege of the mediæval scribes, though these availed themselves of it with no very great frequency, and, as a rule, only in the form of a line or couplet of very bad Latin verse. In his "Books in Manuscript" Mr. Falconer

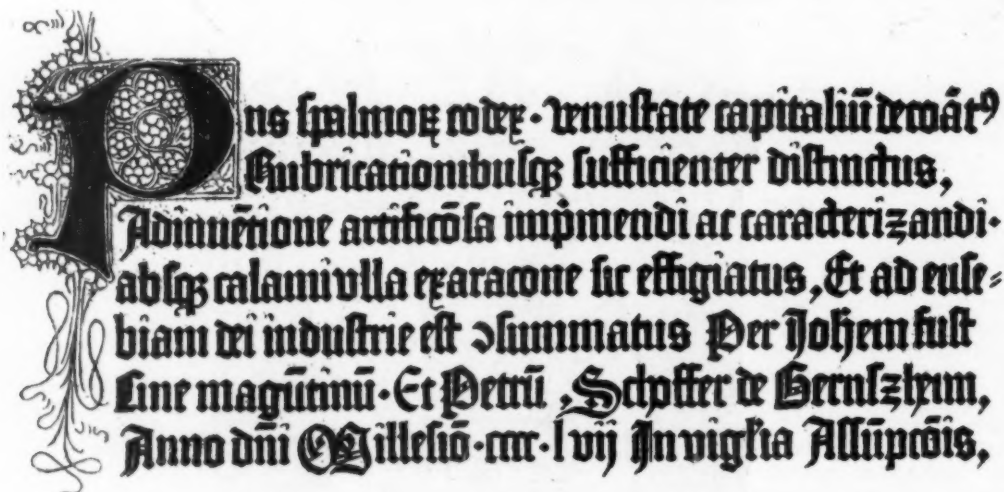
draws attention to this, as in the colophon to the Breslau missal (see plate, p. 7), which may be translated:

The present missal to the praise and honour of God, in the noble city of Mainz, inventress and first perfectress of this art of printing, by the favour of the God of glory, was printed and finished by Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim, with his shields as a signature, in the year of the Lord 1483, on the vigil of S. James the Apostle.

In the hands of Johann Schoeffer the glorification of Mainz expands into an epitome of the invention of printing in the form which the Fust and Schoeffer tradition gave to it. It is at the end of his 1515 edition of the Chronicle of Johann Trithem that the younger Schoeffer dilates thus telling us how his grandfather, Johann Fust, in the year 1450

by his own genius began to think out and investigate the art of printing, and two years later with the help of his workman and adoptive son, Peter Schoeffer, and the many necessary developments he made, brought it to the test of practice, and rewarded Schoeffer with the hand of his daughter Christina for his aid.

Obviously this is one-sided history, since all mention of Gutenberg is sedulously suppressed, but it is history which



THE FIRST PRINTED COLOPHON. FROM THE LITURGICAL PSALTER PRINTED AT MAINZ, 1457

Madan classifies such written colophons into expressions of weariness (*Hic scriptor cesso scribendo pollice fesso*), religious feeling (*Sit laus scribenti, sit vita salusque legenti*), expectancy (*Nunc finem feci: da mihi quod merui*), and humour (*Nunc scripsi totum: pro Christo da mihi potum*), with a single, doubtfully grammatical, expression of malignancy: "*Finito libro frangamus ossa magistro*"—now the book's done, let us break his bones for the master! The feelings of the first printers, when they ventured to express them, required a much more elaborate form.

The present copy of the Psalms, adorned with the beauty of capital letters and sufficiently marked out with rubrics, has been thus fashioned by an ingenious development of printing and stamping, without any ploughing of the pen. And to the worship of God has been diligently brought to completion by Johann Fust, a citizen of Mainz, and Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim, in the year of the Lord 1457 on the vigil of the Assumption.

This is the best translation I can give of the first printed colophon (see plate), that from the great liturgical Psalter printed at Mainz in 1457, the first book which gives us any information as to when, where and by whom it was produced. From 1457 onwards comparatively few of Schoeffer's books (Fust seems to have died in 1466) lack a colophon, to mark his pride in his work and in the share which he and his father-in-law had taken in the invention of printing.

In 1462 the partners began to add their printer's device at the end of their colophons, and Schoeffer sometimes

has to be reckoned with all the same, and much of our knowledge of the early spread of printing, more especially in Italy, is due to similar confidences on the part of the early printers. Thus when John of Speier died the year after he had introduced the art into Venice, his brother Wendelin contrived in eight hexameters not only to inform his readers that he had taken over the business, but to give the names of the books which John had printed and the size of the editions—one hundred copies. To print some Latin verses in their own praise in the first book they issued seems to have become a kind of etiquette among printers in Italy, and the praise was naturally loudest when the printer could claim that he had introduced the art into a new city. Gerard de Lisa makes this boast in the edition of the "*Manuale*" of S. Augustine which he printed at Treviso in 1471.

Gloria debetur Girardo maxima Lixae,
 Quem genuit campis Flandria picta suis,
 Hic Tarvisina nam primus coepit in urbe
 Artifici raros aere notare libros.
 Quoque magis faueant excelsi numina regis
 Aurelii sacrum nunc manuale dedit.

In 1472 we find Petrus Adam glorifying himself on the same ground at Mantua; in 1473 Joannes de Sidriano takes up the tale at Pavia, and the custom continued. These pioneers of printing must sometimes have had no easy time of it. In 1493 one whose very name is lost to us tried to set up a press at Acqui, and used the colophon to his first book to explain that it had been

printed "sat incommode," amid enough inconveniences, because the plague that was raging in neighbouring cities prevented him from improving his appliances. Now, however, he had obtained new type and new workmen, and his future books will possess every merit. Alas, that it should have to be recorded that (as far as we know) these future books were never issued.

Pestilence was not the only foe the early printers had to fight. Hardly less obnoxious to them must have been the Unscrupulous Competitor, more especially in the early 'seventies, when half the printers in Italy were turning out editions of the Latin classics as if they possessed a monopoly of them. In 1473 Stephanus Corallus of Lyons was at work at Parma on an edition of the Achilleis of Statius, when news that some rascals were publishing the same book caused him to finish off his text, "citius quam asparagi coquantur" (quicker than asparagus are cooked),

editions which they abuse. In a late colophon (1580) an angry musician prays connoisseurs to excuse omissions, on the ground that the first printer of the book "being made unreasonably capricious by ill-health" would not carry out his intentions. The poor man had died, like Gerard Leeu, as the work was in the press, but the composer's wrath pursues him to the grave. In a volume of law lectures, Henricus Brunonis is concerned with his own ill-health, not that of his printer. To lecture all day and compile a text-book of an evening had been too much for him, and he appeals to his readers: "cogitate quantis laboribus quantisque capitis vexationibus hoc opusculum compleuerim"—consider with how great toils and headaches I have brought my little book to an end. In a more serious vein and with deeper reason did Sir Thomas Malory end his "Morte d'Arthur," probably written in prison, with the entreaty:

**Presens missale Ad dei laudē
et honorem per petrū schoffer de
gernsheim In indita civita-
te Magūtina huius artis Im-
pressorie inuentrice atq; elimi-
trice prima glorioso deo fauen-
te suis cōsignando scutis Im-
pressum et finitum Anno dñi
M.ccc.lxxxij. In vigilia san-
cti Jacobi apostoli.**



COLOPHON TO THE BRESLAU MISSAL, PRINTED BY
SCHOEFFER AT MAINZ, 1483

a feat which he had the hardihood to offer as an excuse for misprints. Later publishers sought protection from rivalry by obtaining privileges which gave them a monopoly for a term of years, ten being, as a rule, the maximum. Some of the colophons in which these privileges are embodied parade the number of ducats payable on every piratical volume circulated; others prefer to leave the penalty vague, and refer the would-be thief to the document itself. One monopolist takes a lofty tone. "Ne in poenam non parvam imprudenter incurras, o bibliopola audissime," he begins—to save you from rashly incurring no small penalty, most greedy bookseller, I would have you know that the most wise prince of Milan has given this book a privilege for ten years!

Authors and editors often wrote colophons as well as printers and publishers. As a rule the editors were content to say nothing less for themselves than that now for the first time their author really had a fair chance, previous texts having been so incredibly mangled that he would not have recognised them. Advertisements written without any regard to facts being not entirely a modern invention, it is not surprising to find these protestations in books which are little more than reprints of the earlier

"I pray you all, gentle men and gentle women that readeth this book of Arthur and his knights from the beginning to the ending, pray for me while I am on live that God send me good deliverance, and when I am dead I pray you all pray for my soul."

But then Malory was one of the great authors of the fifteenth century, and it must be confessed that the writers of colophons were mostly rather little men.

Colophons, which were the expression of the printer's pride in his art, are found most frequently in learned Latin works. The printers and publishers of the fifteenth century, for all their professions, were at least as ready to save themselves trouble as those of any subsequent period, and not all journeymen printers were good enough scholars to understand the Latin which they were setting up. Hence, in using some earlier edition as copy, a printer sometimes inadvertently reprinted the colophon as well as the text, more especially if it chanced to be in verse, and thus a book which explicitly states, for instance, that it was printed by Valdarfer at Milan may really be a reprint from Strasburg or some other German town.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

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The Bishop's Apron. A Study in the Origin of a Great Family. By W. S. MAUGHAM. (Chapman & Hall, 6s.)

IN "The Bishop's Apron" Mr. Maugham presents a perfect and very entertaining study of a type of character which most people can number among their acquaintances: the vain, selfish man of charming manners and an eye always fixed on the main chance. The Hon. and Rev. Theodore Spratte, Canon of Tercanbury and vicar of a London parish, is the son of the first earl, the insolent, overbearing Lord Chancellor of evil memory, who was a terror alike to his party and his family. For all his bold friendliness with all men, his studied urbanity and surface good-nature, the Canon has inherited something of the ruthlessness of the late Chancellor, and always contrives to get his own way by hook or by crook. He is proof against the ridicule and sarcasm of his brother, Lord Spratte, and his sister, Lady Sophia, who cannot forget the "beastly job" that placed their father upon the woolsack and regard Theodore's pride in the family honours and the family tree as vulgar and pretentious. The Canon sets his heart upon becoming Bishop of Barchester; upon marrying his daughter to a peer, his son into a wealthy brewer's family, and himself to an old love, widowed and of comfortable estate. But all his well-laid schemes go wrong; and the story of his conquest of fate and adverse circumstances provides delightful reading. The author is ingenious and has a light, skilful touch at critical moments, while the Canon himself is so thoroughly alive and human that the interest increases at every stage of his progress. He is a humbug, he is mediocre and pushing, he can be mean and cruel; all the characters are subordinated to him, revolve round him, contribute to his glory, yet he always retains a firm hold upon the reader's attention. The chapter descriptive of his dismay and humiliation at the loss of Barchester, when he sees himself for a few moments as some others see him, is perhaps the most striking in a book that offers a rapid succession of admirable and varied scenes. Finally the Canon triumphs all along the line; he has, as usual, the last word; Lord Spratte and Lady Sophia ruefully agree that in future they will have to eat the dust before their brother, the Lord Bishop, and the reader regretfully turns the last page of a thoroughly amusing and enjoyable book.

The Hātanee. By ARTHUR EGGAR. (Murray, 6s.)

It is a delight to read a novel which takes one so far off the beaten track as "The Hātanee," Mr. Arthur Eggar's story of Burmese superstition and beliefs. It is unusual in a book about foreign parts to get such thrills, and really to enter into the feelings and customs of the natives as you may in this interesting story. The simple but graphic descriptions of the life and surroundings of these Burmese villages are most sympathetically put before us, and we feel that we have missed much in life, never to have stayed up all night in the upper branches of a tree waiting for the Hātanee, never to have experienced the inside of a Burmese hut, chiefly composed of bamboo and matting, never to have met so interesting a set of people as this. It is the poetry of life, the "grand simplicity" which men go far to seek after being disgusted with the meaner tricks of civilisation. A great deal of the story is grim, but the characters chiefly concerned in it have the devotion, the courage and the kindness of heart which are supposed to be found more often among civilised nations than among the "poor heathen." What is the Hātanee? It is a fearsome beast . . . but we leave our readers to solve the mystery, which is well kept up until the last pages. The two Englishmen are very fine specimens of the race, and we feel sorry to think that anything untoward should happen to such a fine fellow as Jackson, who thoroughly deserves his luck at the end. Mr. Eggar evidently loves and understands his subject, and is as free of the jungle as the birds and the beasts. "The Hātanee" is a book to be read.

FINE ART

THE FRENCH PRIMITIVES

Les Primitifs Français, 1292-1500. By HENRI BOUCHOT. (Paris, Librairie de l'Art ancien et moderne, 1904.)

To state clearly the thesis which the author of this book sets forth to maintain, it is necessary to indicate briefly the main outlines of European art history in the middle ages. Every one knows that from the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth centuries the style of art called Gothic reigned throughout the western world, replacing more or less completely the Romanesque-Byzantine styles which had preceded it. The centre of Gothic creation was the Ile de France. The influences of that centre radiated from Assisi to Glasgow and from Trondhjem to Portugal. The governing art of the whole period was architecture, the great masters were master-builders. Local schools had their individual characteristics. English Gothic, Italian Gothic, German Gothic, differed one from another, and each had merits of its own, not necessarily borrowed from France; but the style of the Ile de France was the supreme style, and the other styles were lesser satellites.

Gothic everywhere ran through the usual stages of growth, culmination, and decline; each period producing fine works of its kind—massive and dignified in the twelfth century, splendid and logical in the thirteenth, elaborate and delicate in the fourteenth. By the end of the fourteenth century the style had run through all its stages. The ideal had been fully expressed and was outworn. The world was ready for something new; and, as always, the new ideal arose in a new country, not on the soil sterilised by the splendid crop it had been producing for three centuries. Within a decade or two of the year 1400, the new spirit began to manifest itself. In Italy, Brunelleschi, Donatello and Masaccio, at Florence, were inspired by it. North of the Alps it animated Claas Sluter, the Dutch sculptor of Dijon, the brothers van Limburg, probably Guelderlanders, working at Bourges for John, Duke of Berry, and the brothers Van Eyck, likewise in the employment of princely patrons. All these men were artists trained in the old traditions, which may be broadly called French, and owing all their technical skill to that training, but applying that skill to the expression of a wholly new ideal which was not French and which never took firm root in France. Whereas from the twelfth to the fourteenth century France led the way and French ideas ruled, from the fifteenth century till the time of Louis XIV. France fell behind and was dependent upon foreign inspiration for ideas, and largely upon foreign artists for the best craft to express them.

Such are the facts, universally accepted in all places where art history is studied, except in the study of M. Henri Bouchot. For him the great change that took place in European art about 1400 either did not happen or was as much the result of French initiative as all that had gone before. If he does not ascribe a French impulse to the art of the originating Florentines, it is probably because he forgot to do so. As for the rest, they are all Frenchmen from his point of view. The Van Eycks—artists whose position in art history is as certain as that of Masaccio or of Donatello, and on precisely similar evidence—are for him the creation of inventive historians. He doubts their signed pictures, he ignores archives that mention them, he laughs at the old writers who recorded what was known of them in their day. He has no serious arguments to raise against the universal consensus of students who have devoted their lives to the impartial investigation of art-history. He merely flouts their conclusions as legends, and declares that he is not satisfied, as though that mattered. On the other hand, when he proceeds to set up the imaginary creations of his own brain in their place, it seems to him that the statement, *j'ai lieu de croire*, ought almost to settle the matter.

It is the same with the brothers Van Limburg. The

Duke de Berry's inventory states beyond all question that the splendid manuscript, now at Chantilly, was illuminated in the first instance by them. The scribe, says M. Bouchot, may have made a mistake, written down the wrong name—who knows? Yet he bases his own shaky hypothesis on far more exiguous foundations. It is only fair to add that in all this our author does not speak as the mouth-piece of any French school of *savants*, but is as much at variance with his colleagues as with any kind of foreigners.

Shall we, then, conclude that this book is valueless? Far from it. It is an admirable and stimulating piece of writing, all the more attractive for the wrongheadedness with which it maintains an impossible thesis. From start to finish it is written with vivacity and spirit. The reader, to M. Bouchot, is a man who has already contradicted each of his pet propositions. He proceeds, therefore, to refute him. The chapters are one long series of refutations. They do not convince, but they entertain. The false thesis apart, the materials used are valuable, well stated and important, though they are seldom original. Several of the chapters seem familiar; some of them have certainly appeared before in the pages of French art magazines. Perhaps that is why the title-page bears the date 1904. Or is that date chosen to enable the writer to disregard the disembowelling of his chimera at the hands of Mr. Weale in a recent number of the *Burlington Magazine*? The author has wisely chosen not to cumber his pages with cheap reproductions of works of art already reproduced *ad nauseam* since the French Primitives Exhibition. The book, therefore, can be, and is, printed on excellent paper, pleasant to handle. It is also provided with a thorough index, an accompaniment far too seldom appended to French books on Art History.

MARTIN CONWAY.

MUSIC

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF MUSIC—II

THE transformation of the crude art of the thirteenth century—depending for its harmonic unity upon hollow-sounding, perfect concords at accented points, and for its rhythmic unity upon highly artificial rules of measurement, both expressed by a clumsy notation—into the polished beauty of that of the sixteenth century, as exemplified in Palestrina, is the subject of Professor Wooldridge's second volume of this work. While popular feeling for the beauty of thirds and sixths, the imperfect concords, expressed in popular music existing outside of that acknowledged by the theorists, was the ultimate cause of the overthrow of the old system, it is interesting to note that the dynamic cause was a papal edict of Pope John XXII. in 1322, restraining the artistic efforts of church musicians, and a *ruse*, called "Faulx Bourdon," which the musicians adopted to evade the Papal law. Before we proceed to a discussion of this, however, secular influences upon the strict art of the Church are to be noted in the reintroduction of duple rhythm, that is to say the division of the "long" note into two instead of three "breves," and the use of canon or imitation, which apparently came through the Italian secular forms, the "Ballata," "Madrigale," "Cassia." The works of the French poet-musician Machault and the Italian Francesco Landini, both in secular music and in the composition of the Mass, which composers now began to attempt, is also important. It was, indeed, the composition of the liturgical service, which not only embroidered the plainsong with discant till the original was unrecognisable but even introduced secular tunes and, more surprising still, their secular words with them, which led to the above-mentioned edict which forbade all elaboration of the plainsong save the most simple "Organum."

It is not our intention to forbid, occasionally—and especially upon feast days or in the solemn celebration of the Mass and in the aforesaid divine offices—the use of some consonances, for example the eighth, fifth, and fourth, which heighten the beauty of the melody; such intervals therefore may be sung above the plain *Cantus Ecclesiasticus*, yet so that the integrity of the cantus itself may remain intact, and that nothing in the authoritative music be changed.

It was not to be supposed, however, that ecclesiastical authority could really check the impulse towards artistic creation; it could only render a service to the art by bringing these erring devotees back to a consideration of first principles. Compelled to use again the old "organum," the educated musicians became aware of the crude effect, and relieved its baldness by the insertion of a part in thirds between the two notes of plainsong and organum, thus producing a series of triads. Next, the fifth was altogether avoided by the transposition of the lowest part an octave higher, when, the triads becoming first inversions, this system of "Faulx Bourdon," or False Bass, established the imperfect concords as the groundwork of the new harmonic scheme. Dr. Adler and Professor Riemann believe in the existence of a much older practice of "Faulx Bourdon" in the popular music of England, but Professor Wooldridge is unable to find sufficient evidence for this theory. With the general recognition of this new principle, together with the greater elasticity of rhythm occasioned by the use of either duple or triple measure, or, as it was called, imperfect and perfect, it will be evident that the materials for building up the great era of polyphonic music lay ready to hand.

From this time forward names of numerous composers come prominently to the front, and the formation of schools occupies the latter half of the volume. First amongst these comes the English school of the fifteenth century. The work of this school is illustrated by valuable manuscripts in the Bodleian library and that of St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, near Ware, but, besides these, collections of English compositions, notably those of John Dunstable, are preserved at Vienna, Modena and Bologna. From the wide recognition of Dunstable's genius on the Continent, as well as the fact that the few specimens of his work in the English manuscripts are given anonymously, and having regard to the advanced position of his work as compared with that of his insular contemporaries, Professor Wooldridge concludes that Dunstable spent his life abroad, and that, though he was English, his music was not native, nor did it much influence native art. This will be rather disappointing to the English enthusiast, but the evidence is too strong to be neglected, the more so as Professor Wooldridge is not slow to do justice to the claims of English music when a century later it became of real importance in the school of Tye, Tallis and Byrd. But whatever facility the English people may show in assimilating and reproducing with certain characteristics of their own the artistic achievements of others, this period with many later ones shows that the pioneer work was not to be done in England. The Gallo-Belgic School of Dufay, Otrecht, Okeghem and Josquin des Prés took the initiative in the development of the resources gained in the past and especially in the possibilities of Canon and such devices. Amidst the dry technicalities of this time the efforts of Josquin towards genuine expression are refreshing, and are well illustrated in this volume by the quotation of his two motetts, "Absalon" and "Laudati Pueri."

The great Netherlandish school, which follows upon this, shows further development of the harmonic principle, and this, be it noted, was specially in connection with secular music as exemplified in the Madrigal. In the great specimens of this form by Willaert, Verdelot, Arcadelt, there is a tendency to treat the voices *en bloc*, as together representing different chords instead of individual melodies, which was to bear conspicuous fruit in the seventeenth century, but which, even during the reign of pure choral art, had a marked effect in making progressions definite, grouping the portions of a work into phrases concluded by cadences. While these methods were being pursued on the continent, English composers apparently continued to

compose in the manner of their forefathers, and it was not until Flemish principles had been introduced into England, by what means it is not clearly known, that the school of English Church music, of which Tye and Tallis were the most noteworthy exponents, could come into existence. And now, when these men had arrived at maturity, the untoward circumstance of the Reformation came to thwart, or at any rate deflect, their energies. It is true that the change was so mercifully gradual as to allow of the adaptation of the old music to the needs of the reformed Church, but there can be little doubt that the new tone towards religion was responsible for the lack of successors to the founders of the school, and for the general bending of energies towards the secular music of the Madrigal.

In his final chapter, "The Perfection of the Method," Professor Wooldridge discusses and illustrates the works of Orlando Lassus and Palestrina. With regard to the latter he shows that in any art each school presents a partial view of the possibilities of its material, but withal the highest that a partial view can attain, while it generally falls to the lot of one man of unusual talent to gather "the incomplete and personal ideals of the various members, antecedent as well as contemporary, into one supreme method, in which is displayed the actual end towards which all efforts were unconsciously directed." Palestrina did for the music of this time what Raphael had already done for painting. He selected and so summed up the best from among the resources of his predecessors that no further art drawn from those resources alone was possible to those who were to come after. With the beginning of the seventeenth century a new era begins, the story of which is recounted in the third volume of this work by Sir Hubert Parry. Professor Wooldridge's work stops here, and, in leaving it, it is necessary to pay a tribute to the accurate care and patience with which it is evident that his researches have been made and the lucid manner of his descriptions. Throughout, his attitude is that of the historian pure and simple; he rarely comments upon the developments which he describes, but the logical sequence of events is made clear. This is particularly a great achievement in dealing with a phase of art where so much must necessarily be inferred rather than known directly, and where an author given to conjecture would inevitably lead his readers into a maze of theory, from which it would be well-nigh impossible to find the path of truth.

H. C. C.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

A NEW work by Miss J. E. Harrison, of Newnham College, Cambridge, on "Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides," will be published very shortly by the Cambridge University Press. Miss Harrison does not accept the view generally held in this country of the character and limits of the ancient city, which she regards as disproved by the recent excavations of the German Archaeological Institute. In her new book she endeavours, therefore, to state as simply as may be what seems to her the ascertained truth about primitive Athens, both on the ancient literary evidence and on that added by excavation. Many plans and drawings are given to illustrate evidence and argument.

Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have now in the press, and hope to publish about Easter, a new edition of Evelyn's "Diary" in three volumes. The *format* will be that of the "Diary and Letters" of Madame D'Arblay recently issued by the same firm. The text, the spelling of which has been modernised, will follow Bray and Forster; but many minor rectifications have been made and some unsuspected errors corrected. The book will contain the notes of the earlier editors, carefully revised; and it will include a large number of additional notes by the present editor, Mr. Austin Dobson, who has been engaged on this task for

some months past. As in the case of the D'Arblay Diary, the new issue will be illustrated by photogravure portraits, contemporary views of localities, maps and facsimile title-pages; and there will be a Preface, Introduction and a full Index.

Next week Dr. J. Butler Burke's "The Origin of Life, its physical basis and definition," will be published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall. The same firm promise an interesting historical monograph—"A Friend of Marie Antoinette" (Lady Atkyns), by Frederick Barbey—by the end of the month; and early in March a book which will appeal to Shakespeareans: "The Shakespeare Symphony," by Harold Bayley.

Under the title "The Spurgeon Family, being an account of the Descent and Family of Charles Haddon Spurgeon," a new genealogical work will be published shortly. It will contain many portraits, facsimiles, pedigrees and extracts from parish registers; among the latter may be mentioned a facsimile of an extract from the marriage register of one Elizabeth Spurgeon at Burnham, one of the witnesses to which was Lord Nelson. The work is compiled by Mr. W. H. Higgs, and will be published by Mr. Elliot Stock.

A new book, entitled "The Unlucky Number," by Mr. Eden Phillpotts, will be published immediately in Messrs. Newnes's Series of Sixpenny Novels. The series hitherto has been devoted to reprints of books published at a more expensive price. The inclusion of a new work, by an author of Mr. Phillpotts's reputation, at so moderate a price is therefore an entirely new departure, and is an interesting experiment for everybody concerned.

CORRESPONDENCE

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING'S CENTENARY

To the Editor of THE ACADEMY

SIR,—In response to a suggestion for a national memorial to Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, in Westminster Abbey, to commemorate the centenary of her birth on March 6, I have had numerous communications from all parts of the United Kingdom; the idea has also been favourably accepted by the Press, not only in our own country, but in America, France and Italy. Unfortunately my correspondents assume that I will undertake the promotion of the movement, as I have been associated with the inception and accomplishment of numerous memorials to national and local celebrities—the last being that to the Venerable Bede, at Monkwearmouth.

A national memorial to Mrs. Browning, will, however, be much more easily and fittingly promoted in London, the centre of the intellectual life of the nation. Already Royal Academicians and sculptors have offered their services to supply allegorical designs and models of busts for memorials in bronze or marble; while the general belief has been expressed that such a movement would meet with a liberal response if a small representative executive committee were to be formed which would undertake the control of the movement.

It would be invidious at present to suggest representative names in Literature and Letters whose influence would command speedy success to a national memorial to Mrs. Browning. The committees which are arranging for local celebrations of the centenary in numerous cities and towns in Europe and America could be branches of a central executive in London, and thus connect the whole of the empire and other countries.

Personally, I shall be pleased to assist, in a humble way, in the formation of such a movement, and appeal to the numerous admirers of Mrs. Browning's great service to the literature of our English language to bring about the formation of an executive committee, with an hon. secretary whose name will carry weight in the best circles of society, and who has leisure and zeal that will enable him to approach the cultured and wealthy members of our people.

There is no need to plead the merits of Mrs. Browning as a poet, a representative Englishwoman and a humanitarian; her place in the roll of fame is acknowledged; and on the centenary of her birth, which took place at Coxhoe Hall, Durham, on March 6, 1866, it is fitting that her memory be publicly commemorated.

JOHN ROBINSON

Delaval House, Sunderland, February 10.

THE ROKEBY VELASQUEZ

To the Editor of THE ACADEMY

SIR,—I do not think that the gently quizzing writer of the letter over the signature "Artium Amator" means what he says, for if what his words imply be true, then many of our cherished ideas of the meaning of Art, with all the pleasant memories of the dawning of these ideas upon our intelligence, must be sunk in the sea of oblivion. Clearly, as one may conclude he admits, the object of the artist must

be beauty in one form or another, but it must be beauty that ennobles: that appeals to the higher faculties; for indeed when it ceases to do this, it ceases to be beauty and becomes parody. When beauty is adulterated with ignoble conditions, its only attraction is sensual. In the Rokeby Velasquez the perfect reclining form and the Cupid would in themselves make a great work of art, whatever the title, but the introduction of the mirror brings before the mind a mean human trait which not only condemns the picture as "Venus and Cupid," but causes an impression quite at variance with our conception of beauty that is ennobling. In fact what would appeal to the intellect without the mirror appeals only to the senses with it. I do not think it at all necessary that the face should be shown. It has been emphasised by German critics that Homer did not feel it necessary to describe the beauty of Helen, but allowed it to be inferred by references to its effect, and a beautiful form expressed by the painter would not be a less powerful handle to the imagination than the effect expressed by the poet.

It might be possible to support my position by referring to the smile on the face, the character of which is a flaw in the invention; but first it seems to me clear that the face has been overworked by a French artist, and secondly it is scarcely necessary to call special attention to a loose brick when the whole wall is insecure. "Artium Amator" appears to suggest that we need not consider the mirror. Possibly, observers of that remarkable picture by Whistler lately bought, would not be very much surprised if they were asked to imagine the presence of features which are absent; but it would scarcely do to request those who look at the Velasquez to imagine the absence of features which are present. The only way to withdraw the mirror from the mind is to paint it out. It is related of Protogenes, who painted the portrait of Aristotle, that he executed a picture of a Satyr leaning against the stump of a tree on which a partridge had alighted. The main object of the work was apparently to exhibit the artist's conception of a resting Satyr, but the partridge was so wonderfully well done that it formed the special feature of attraction for observers, who scarcely paid attention to the Satyr. The artist thereupon deliberately painted out the bird. Yet the partridge was less out of place than is the mirror, for while the bird only hindered the appreciation of the invention, the mirror alters its whole character.

I do not mean to suggest that the picture is likely to injure the public morals, but I certainly fail to see that it is a great and ennobling work of art such as one would expect from the expenditure for a public gallery of so large a sum as that paid for it.

MAN IN THE STREET.

Florence, February 12.

"THE LIFE OF GREGORY THE GREAT"

To the Editor of THE ACADEMY

SIR,—Your review of Mr. Dudden's "Gregory the Great" recalls to my recollection the period 1875 or 1876, when John Richard Green, the historian, was in Italy, generally accompanied by his faithful friend and companion the Rev. William Halcombe, who was busy in Rome for two or three years in collecting material for a biography of the great Pope. His literary labours took him to the old Theological Library (Casanatensis), situated on one side of the Piazza della Minerva, near the Pantheon, where an obelisk stands in the centre supported by an Elephant.

Surely his long task must have resulted in many notes and memoranda, that would be useful to any future writer on the same subject. Has Mr. Dudden any knowledge of this predecessor and his efforts? or do these manuscripts lie useless and neglected?

Halcombe was with Green in Capri, and we spent much time on the island together in the Hotel Quisisana. After Green's death and burial in Mentone, Halcombe was taken ill in Florence, and carried by the *Misericordia* brethren to the railway en route to the Baths of Lucca. His doctor there (Gason) summoned me in haste on his arrival, as he said I was his only acquaintance near at hand. Presently he was able to move on to Mentone, and soon after died, and was buried close by his friend, John Richard Green. This is in brief all I remember of Mr. Halcombe, but possibly his relatives may possess the manuscripts he wrote concerning Pope Gregory.

While on the subject, let me state I am one of the few strangers who have visited the birthplace of Hildebrand—or Aldobrando, if of that noble family—said to be Sovana, a city of the Tuscan Maremma. But I gathered from local manuscripts at the neighbouring city of Pitigliano that it seemed doubtful whether Gregory was of the noble house of Aldobrando, or the son of a poor joiner of the same city.

Sovana is a ruined and desolate place since its siege by the Senesi two or three hundred years ago, and fever stricken; it is a serious risk indeed to pass two or three hours now within its circumference. I wrote a detailed description of it twenty years ago, but like much else of mine it is forgotten or derelict.

WILLIAM MERCER.

[Owing to pressure on our space a number of letters are held over.]

BOOKS RECEIVED

ARCHÆOLOGY.

Amelung, Walther; and Holtzinger, Heinrich. *The Museums and Ruins of Rome*. English edition revised by the authors and Mrs. S. Arthur

Strong, L.L.D. 6½ x 5½. Two vols. pp. xxiv, 326 + xii, 183. Duckworth, 10s. net.

[Vol. i. The Museums, by Walther Amelung, with 170 illustrations: vol. ii., The Ruins, by Heinrich Holtzinger, with plans and 98 illustrations. The German edition of the book forms part of "The Modern Cicerone" series. Mrs. Strong, who is partly responsible for the translation, adds a short and useful bibliography to each volume. Indexes to both.]

ART.

Jenner, Mrs. Henry. *Christ in Art*. Little Books on Art Library. 6½ x 4½. Pp. 186. Methuen, 2s. 6d. net.

[Mrs. Jenner's object is to try to follow the gradual development of the delineation of Christ in art, "from the faded frescoes of the catacombs to the easels of modern artists."

Cust, Robert H. Hobart. *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (hitherto usually styled "Sodoma"): The Man and the Painter, 1477-1549*. 9½ x 7. Pp. xviii, 442. Murray, 21s. net.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoirs of Archbishop Temple. By Seven Friends. Edited by E. G. Sandford. 2 vols. 8½ x 5½. Pp. xvi + 1323. Macmillan, 136s. net. (See p. 157.)

Experiences of Mack. By Himself. 4½ x 7½. Pp. 155. Drane, 3s. 6d. [The exciting experiences in various parts of Europe, mainly in 1869 and 1870, of an engineer.]

Collins, Tom. *School and Sport: a record of work and leisure*. 7½ x 5½. Pp. 267. Elliot Stock, 6s. net.

[Mainly autobiographical. Mr. Collins was well known in his University days, was a member of the Cambridge eleven, and played both the single and double matches at billiards for his University. He was for eight years Assistant Master at King Edward's School, Birmingham, and for thirty-three Headmaster of Newport (Salop) Grammar School. Sportsmen will enjoy his book.]

Hullah, Annette. *Theodor Leschetzky*. Living Masters of Music series. 7½ x 5. Pp. 85. Lane, 2s. 6d. net.

CLASSICS.

The Aeneid of Virgil. With a translation by Charles J. Billson, M.A. 2 vols. 10½ x 7½. Pp. 644. Arnold, 30s. net.

DRAMA.

Hardy, Thomas. *The Dynasts*. A Drama of the Napoleonic Wars, in three parts, nineteen acts, and one hundred and thirty scenes. Part Second. 7½ x 5½. Pp. xiii, 302. Macmillan, 4s. 6d. net.

EDUCATION.

Allbutt, T. Clifford. *On Professional Education, with special reference to medicine*. 7½ x 5. Pp. 80. Macmillan, 2s. net.

[An Address delivered at King's College Hospital, under the title "Medical Education in London," on October 3, 1905 the opening of the session.]

Britain's Sea Story, B.C. 55-A.D. 1805. Edited by E. E. Speight and R. Morton Nance. Illustrated from paintings by R. Morton Nance. 7½ x 5. Pp. 427. Hodder & Stoughton, 2s. 6d. net.

[The story of British heroism in voyaging and sea-fight from the time of Alfred to the Battle of Trafalgar. With an introduction tracing the development of the structure of sailing-ships from the earliest times.]

Methuen's Junior School Books. *The Gospel according to St. Luke*. Edited with introduction and notes by William Williamson, B.A. 7 x 5. Pp. 240. Methuen, 2s.

[The text is A. V. The Introduction is sound and scholarly, and the notes and appendices full. Maps of The Holy Land, The Sea of Galilee, and Jerusalem.]

Black's Picture Lessons in English. Book I. With fifteen full-page illustrations in colours. 8 x 5½. Pp. 33. Black, 6d.

[For teaching composition to very young children.]

Marchand & Allumettes. Par A. Gennevraye. Edited by Cloudeley Brereton. 7 x 4½. Pp. 128. Siepmann's French Series (Elementary). Macmillan, 2s. net.

Loney, S. L.; and Grenville, L. W. *A Shilling Arithmetic*. With answers. 6½ x 4½. Pp. 186, xxiv. Macmillan, 1s. 6d.

FICTION.

Bartram, George. *Lads of the Fancy*. 7½ x 5½. Pp. 310. Duckworth, 6s.

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